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Message Text

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USCINCEUR GER

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EXDIS MILITARY ADDEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOL RPT ATHENS 4457 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA, NICOSIA &
USNATO DTD 31 MAY 78

QUOTE: S E C R E T ATHENS 4457

EXDIS

DEPT PASS USNMR SHAPE, USCINCEUR, AND SECDEF FOR ISA

MILADDEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, MASS, GR, US
SUBJ: U.S.-GREEK DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT (DCA) --
NEXT STEP

REF: STATE 124518 (162044Z MAY 78) (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: THERE HAVE BEEN TWO DISTINCT PHASES IN THE
GOG'S APPROACH TO A NEW MILITARY FACILITIES AGREEMENT,
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AND BOTH HAVE BEEN HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY INTERNAL
POLITICAL IMPERATIVES. WITH AGREEMENT TO RENEGOTIATE
THE TURKISH DCA -- THE GREEK DCA'S "MODEL" -- WE ARE ON
THE VERGE OF A THIRD PHASE. THROUGHOUT, THE CONSTANT HAS
BEEN CARAMANLIS' ACTIONS BOTH TO SAFEGUARD HIS OWN
DOMESTIC POSITION AND TO PROTECT,IF POSSIBLE, THE AMERICAN
SECURITY LINK THAT OUR FACILITIES SYMBOLIZE BY INSURING

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THEY SERVE GREEK NATIONAL INTERESTS. AS THINGS STAND,
WE AGREE WITH REFTEL ON DESIRABILITY OF NOT NOW STIMULATING
GOG TO COMMENT ON FUTURE OF GREEK DCA. END SUMMMARY.

2. WHEN THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED FOR A NEW STATUS
FOR U.S. BASESDLBZTE 1974, HIS DECLARED MOTIVE WAS
TO ESTABLISH GREATER CONTROL OVER OUR MILITARY
ACTIVITIES AND DEMONSTRATE THAT CONTROL TO HIS PUBLIC
AT A TIME WHEN ALL THINGS AMERICAN WERE UNDER ATTACK.
DESULTORY NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN THE FOLLOWING FEBRUARY,
AND A NEW REGIME OF OPERATING RIGHTS AND JOINT
RELATIONSHIPS SLOWLY EMERGED.

3. SIGNATURE OF A U.S. - TURKISH DCA IN MARCH 1976,
WITH ITS MULTI-YEAR BILLION DOLLAR AID COMMITMENT,
SUBSTANTIALLY ALTERED BOTH U.S. AND GREEK APPROACHES.
FROM THE GOG -- WITH AN EYE ON ITS PUBLIC AND THE
PERCEPTION OF A TURKISH THREAT -- CAME A CALL FOR
"SIMILAR" TREATMENT. THE APRIL 1976 KISSINGER - BITSIOS
"PRINCIPLES" AGREEMENT ESTABLISHED THE CONCEPT OF
SIMILARITY AND COUPLED IT TO THE GOAL OF A MODERNIZED
AND REGULARIZED U.S. DEFENSE PRESENCE. EVEN AFTER
COMPREHENSIVE DOCUMENTS WERE INITIALLED IN JULY 1977,
EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE A DCA WERE UNSUCCESSFUL: NO
AMOUNT OF EXPLAINING THE "LARGER" GREEK NATIONAL AND
ALLIANCE INTERESTS WE PERCEIVED COULD PERSUADE THE GOG
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TO CONCLUDE A COMPANION DCA THAT WOULD SEEM TO HELP
ARM TURKEY.

4. AGREEMENT TO RENEGOTIATE THE DCA WITH TURKEY --
THE "MODEL" FOR THE ONE WITH GREECE -- COULD CHANGE
USG AND GOG APPROACHES ONCE AGAIN. THE AMERICAN-
TURKISH DEFINITION OF "RENEGOTIATION", ESPECIALLY AS
IT APPLIES TO SECURITY ASSISTANCE, WILL BE THE
PRIMARY DETERMINANT OF WHAT THE GOG WILL REQUIRE IN
ORDER TO DEFEND CONFIDENTLY A CONTINUED U.S. PRESENCE.

5. CARAMANLIS HAS REPEATEDLY TOLD US OF HIS DISDAIN
FOR ONE ALLY'S RENTING BASES FROM ANOTHER AND OF HIS
PREFERENCE FOR NO AID IN EITHER DCA. THE STANCE IS
SOMEWHAT DISINGENUOUS, SINCE HE BELIEVES GREECE WOULD
HAVE LITTLE DIFFICULTY (AND TURKEY MUCH MORE) IN
OBTAINING AID SEPARATE FROM A BASE AGREEMENT.
NEVERTHELESS, IF THE MULTI-YEAR AID COMMITMENT WERE
DELETED FROM THE TURKISH AGREEMENT, GREECE WOULD
BE HARD-PUT TO OPPOSE SIMILAR SURGERY ON HER COUNTER-
PART DOCUMENT.

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6. ABSENT THE MULTI-YEAR AID PROVISIONS, THE LINK TO
THE TURKISH DCA (AND HELPING TO LIFT THE EMBARGO)
COULD BE BROKEN. GREECE WOULD LOSE HER MAJOR INCENTIVE
FOR DELAY. THE EMPHASIS ON NATIONAL CONTROL AND JOINT
OPERATION WOULD RETURN TO THE FOREFRONT. THIS IS NOT
TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOG WOULD MOVE SMARTLY TO
CONCLUDE SUCH A REVISED DCA, THOUGH IT WOULD BE A
RELATIVELY SIMPLE PROCESS TO REWRITE THE RELEVANT TEXTS.
ON THE CONTRARY, CARAMANLIS WILL WANT TO PICK HIS TIME
FOR SIGNATURE AND SUBMISSION TO PARLIAMENT VERY
CAREFULLY, CONSIDERING NOT ONLY HIS DOMESTIC SITUATION
BUT ALSO DEVELOPMENTS IN GREEK-TURKISH, GREEK-NATO,
AND CYPRIOT AFFAIRS. HIS CALCULUS WILL NATURALLY
INCLUDE AN EVALUATION OF WHETHER HE SHOULD PRESS FOR
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ADDITIONAL BENEFITS (SWEETENERS; A SECURITY GUARANTEE),
BASED IN PART ON HOW MUCH HE THINKS WE VALUE A NEW
DCA. HE MAY WELL MAINTAIN THE NEED FOR A "SPECIAL
RELATIONSHIP" WITH NATO AS A FRAMEWORK FOR A
BILATERAL FACILITIES AGREEMENT.

7. IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT, ALL OTHER THINGS
BEING EQUAL,U.S. MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN GREECE UNDER
THE CURRENT SET OF AGREEMENTS ARE RELATIVELY
UNENCUMBERED IN CONTRAST TO THE OPERATIONAL AND STATUS
LIMITATIONS CONTAINED IN THE NEW PACKAGE. WE HAVE IN
EFFECT AGREED TO LESS FLEXIBILITY SO AS TO PRESERVE
ALL IMPORTANT MISSIONS. THUS, IF THERE IS TO BE ANOTHER
NEGOTIATION, THOUGH IT MIGHT BE TEMPTING IN A STRICTLY MILITARY
SENSE TO REOPEN SEVERAL PROVISIONS -- SUCH AS SORTIE LIMITS,
PERSONNEL CEILINGS, MONITORING INSTRUMENTALITIES, BASE ACCESS
CONTROLS, PRIVATE VEHICLE CHARGES, CRIMINAL JURISDICTION,
OR DEPENDENT SUPPORT RELOCATIONS -- THE RISK OF HAVING
FURTHER GREEK LIMITATIONS INTRODUCED WOULD APPEAR TO
OUTWEIGH SUCH A PROCEDURE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.
THE MODERN, VIABLE RELATIONSHIP SO PAINTAKINGLY WOVEN
BY BOTH GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRACIES COULD COMPLETELY
UNRAVEL DURING A WIDE-RANGING RENEGOTIATION.

8. ANOTHER CONCERN WE HAVE IS THE CHALLENGE NOW
SLOWLEY BUILDING AGAINST CONTINUED CLOSE GREEK-
AMERICAN TIES. WE SEE A NEED TO CONSTRUCT A RELATION-
SHIP THAT IS BROADER THAN THE ALBEIT CRUCIAL SECURITY
CONNECTION. WE OUGHT TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY WAYS TO
ENFOLD THE DCA IN A LARGER FRAMEWORK --PERHAPS ALONG
THE LINES OF OUR TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION
WITH SPAIN. SUCH A STRUCTURE COULD
ENCLOSE AND NURTURE A CONTINUED DEFENSE LINK WITHOUT
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GIVING A NEW DCA INORDINATE PROMINENCE.

9. IN SUM, WE HAVE A LESS PRESSING, BUT STILL SUB-
STANTIAL INTEREST IN CONCLUDING A DCA BASICALLY AS
DRAFTED, MINUS AN AID COMMITMENT. BEFORE, HOWEVER,
WE CAN MOVE IN A MEASURED WAY TOWARD THUS MODERNIZING
OUR DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP, THE GOG WILL PERFORCE WANT
TO SEE WHAT RESULTS FROM THE RENEGOTIATION WITH
TURKEY AND WHAT BENEFITS MIGHT BE EXTRACTED FROM US
IN THE NAME OF SIMILARITY. WE OUGHT NOT, IN THE
INTERIM, TO CHANGE OUR STANCE AND BECOME THE DEMANDEUR,
FOR IT CAN ONLY COST US MORE. MCCLOSKEY UNQUOTE VANCE

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